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THE
RECORD.

LETTERS
ON
POOR LAW REFORM AND EMIGRATION.

DEDICATED TO
THE REV. THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D.

ROBERT GOURLAY,

Colonial Agent.

Know leave to intimate, that he laid the foundation of this business in Upper Canada, October 1817; and for months enjoyed flattering prospects. Instigated by Legislative Councillors, he then called for inquiry into the state of the Province, and would have carried that important measure, still urgently required, had he not been betrayed, deserted, and ruined by these very men. Emerging from unexampled persecution, he now starts with renewed hope, never for a moment having abandoned his design. At once to establish business and outface machinations to blast him as insane, he purposes to make the tour of the Kingdom. In country parishes he will advise Labourers to form Emigration Societies; in Market Towns converse with farmers as to settlement abroad; and, in greater towns, deliver Discourses on the Principles of Poor Law Reform and Emigration, wherein he will prove, that, without altering a single statute, obviating a single institution, or interfering with property, the whole system of the Poor Laws and Rates may be dispensed with in 20 years, while the National Debt may be paid off within 50 years, from Sales of Coloured Bonds.

February 15th 1830.

PROFUNDA CERNIT.

EDINBURGH:
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1830.

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APPENDIX.

SEVENTH SERIES.

POOR LAW REFORM AND EMIGRATION.

To the Reverend Thomas Chalmers, D. D.

MY DEAR SIR—You are called upon by Government to say whether or not Poor Laws ought to be introduced into Ireland; and it is fortunate that a question so important should be put to one so well qualified to judge, and whose authority must be paramount. You will doubtless say no; but what then? What is to become of Ireland? and can Poor Laws ever be dispensed with in England?

On your passage to London you may reflect on these questions, and also have leisure to peruse the following letters. The more to engage attention, my correspondence with you shall take the lead.

No. 1.

St. Andrews, 17th February 1826.

MY DEAR SIR—I can assure you that I received your interesting letter of the 6th of February with no slight emotion of kindness and respect, having ever regarded you as one of the ablest of my fellow-students in St. Andrews, and who, if human life had not been the lottery which it is, would have earned by his talents, and merited by his friendly dispositions, a place of high and honourable distinction in society.

You may rely upon my good wishes; but you estimate at far too high a rate my power to be useful to my friends. I am conscious that I have the desire, but I do not clearly see how it is that I can be of great service to you.

I transmitted your interesting paper to Dr. Buist.

I beg to be numbered by you among the subscribers to your volume.

I felt much interested by your description of the peace which you enjoy amidst all the external discomforts of your situation. There is a peace beyond the reach of outward circumstances, a peace that passes all understanding.—Believe me, my dear sir, very truly yours,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

Robert Gourlay, Esq.

No. 2.

*House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields,
London, March 24, 1826.*

MY DEAR SIR—To be visited in prison is very delightful, and nearest akin to it is receiving a friendly letter. Yours reached me in course through Mr. Hume, and he will forward to you this acknowledgement.

The ministers of Fife have proved as little propitious to me as the county newspaper. I have despatched copies of this printed sheet (Appeal No. 66), to their kirk-sessions, to leave no stone unturned. Why should they not assist me?

A month hence you will be done for a time with academic duties; and having then gone twice over the course of moral philosophy, will, I hope, have leisure to resume lucubrations on the Poor Laws. That is out of sight the most essential study of the present day; and your principles agreeing with mine, I most heartily wish you success. It is now twenty-five years since I devoted myself to the subject, but it seems decreed that Italy should fly from me, or rather that I shall be eternally worried by a thousand cares while running my favourite scent. The inclosed is partly to give you a glance of my strange eventful history, but chiefly to arrest consideration to the assertion, that, under circumstances, "*every industrious man would be able to earn the price of half a bushel of wheat per day.*"

When we were at mathematics together, Mr. Brown gave out a question which you alone solved. Solve me this: How could rents and taxes be paid if every labouring man earned this much? I assert that it is not only possible, but that the nation at large might advance to greater wealth, strength, and dominion than ever, while this was realized. Lay by this letter till the end of your session, and then give my question grave reflection. If you cannot solve it after a week, honour me with a confession, and I shall do my endeavour to explain.—Yours sincerely,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

The Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D.

No. 3.

*House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields,
May 31, 1826.*

MY DEAR SIR—Here is the last day of May, the month which I gave you to solve the question, "How present rents and taxes could be paid if a common labourer earned the price of half a bushel of wheat per day." You know that I announced this to the minister of St. Andrews; and I did so to all the clergy of Fife. I did so to arrest attention to the mightiest proposition in political economy, and hope you have gravely thought of it.

There is a question of another kind, but connected with the same

subject, which I am now to put, because not algebraist enough to satisfy myself, and for five years have wished for a correct answer :

The population of Great Britain was, in 1700,	6,523,000.
_____ in 1801,	10,817,000.
_____ in 1821,	14,089,677.

Now, supposing it desirable, all things considered, that our population should go on to double every century for several centuries to come (and you can easily suppose that improved agriculture and economy otherwise might admit of this, with safety and comfort to all, even though we had no supply of food from abroad)—Supposing that, while our population remaining at home increased no faster, we nevertheless doubled by breeding every twenty-five years, and got quit of the surplus by emigration of people between the ages of twelve and twenty years—

Query—How many must emigrate every year from the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, taking the population to start with at twenty millions ?

Before answering with precision, several points may require consideration. But I now do not wish to confuse my meaning as to the principal point, and should willingly do my best to explain any doubt which may arise. Even a vague solution at first would be acceptable, to give opportunity for correcting mistakes or error. It will afford me great pleasure to have a letter on the subject directed to this house, where a good *unknown* pays my postages. In my forthcoming publication there is a letter of mine which appeared first in the *Morning Herald*, with an allusion to your using the word *alone*. I have now in a note said, "This word is so used by other authors when *only* or *sole* would be more proper. My justly respected friend will excuse my pointing to his much too frequent use of it thus, as it smacks of affectation, than which nothing is more distant from the real character, admirable for genuine sincerity."

Could I once be thought perfectly sincere, it is my hope that a broken ship may come to land. You, I hope, think so, and will accept my best assurance that I am very truly yours,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

The Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D.

No. 4.

Glasgow, July 27, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR—I received your volume, and take it very kind that you have sent it to me.

Be assured that if I have declined entering upon the question in political economy which you submitted to me, it is not because I am indifferent to any wish or request of yours ; but you know as well as I, how the doctrines of this science hang together, and that we really cannot do full justice to one of its topics, without taking a comprehensive view of the whole.

It is in fact far too unwieldy a subject for a literary correspondence ; and besides, I am impressed with the feeling of a great elementary difference betwixt us in our views of population, pauperism, the rights of the labouring classes, &c., and I am pretty sure that the result of our launching together on the sea of so wide a speculation, would just be a controversy that we should find to be interminable.

Will you forgive my haste, as at present I am very much occupied, and believe me, my dear sir, yours very truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS.

Robert Gourlay, Esq.

GLASGOW WEAVERS.

No. 1.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 30th April 1829.

SIR—I have this day read your affecting letter to Sir John Maxwell, dated 24th instant, and printed in the Glasgow Chronicle, wherein you say, "We want no public pity—no pecuniary relief—we are willing and able to labour."

May I beg the favour of a few lines, saying if you think the weavers would listen to advice from me. Write after inquiry and reflection ; but say nothing of this letter, which keep private.—Yours, &c.

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Mr. Charles M'Kay, Secretary to the
Operative Weavers, Glasgow.

No. 2.

Glasgow, May 6, 1829.

SIR—I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of date 30th April, in which you signify a wish that it should be kept private. In answer to this suggestion I have to say, that every letter addressed to me as an official person is laid before a general body of delegates, chosen from the operatives connected with the union, amounting to a population of about 15,000 ; these delegates are again bound to lay the substance of the contents of said letters before their respective constituents ; consequently your letter has not been kept in a corner. You ask me if you think the operatives of this quarter would listen to your advice. They will listen to every reasonable opinion ; however, I would beg you never to mention the possibility of paying the national debt in fifty years by the sale of colonial lands, for I am confident it would only excite their risible faculties ; for we are convinced that although the lands of Britain, which are much more valuable, were sold, with houses, mines, and canals, the proceeds arising therefrom would fall far short of paying off the *national debt*. I, however, return you my sincere thanks in name of my constituents for the interest you have taken in their condition.—Yours respectfully,

CHARLES M'KAY.

Robt. Gourlay, Esq.

No. 3.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 7th May 1829.

SIR—The only reason for wishing my letter to you kept private was, that female relations in Glasgow might hear of it, and have other than their *risible* faculties excited; for it is difficult to manage between women and weak men, or shall I say between weeping and laughing philosophers. The *risible* faculties of Sarah were excited when told she was to have a child: nevertheless she had a child. Agrippa, the heathen, might doubt when asked, "Why should it be thought incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" but now-a-days we must not doubt.

Should operatives listen to me, I shall not draw on their *faith*, but submit to *reason*, as to what I have engraved on my business card. I am neither mad, young, nor inexperienced; have suffered more for operatives than any man alive; and as this, by your rules, will be laid before 15,000 of them, I take the opportunity to say that their best hope should rest in what you think impossible—what you beg me never to mention, as it would excite their risible faculties viz. my asserting that the national debt may be paid off from sales of colonial lands.

If operatives incline, I shall meet their delegates in Glasgow whenever they choose, first to prove this, and then to shew how every industrious man throughout the kingdom may have constant and profitable employment. Should my offer be accepted, you may, instead of keeping this private, publish it in the newspapers, that all the world may laugh me to scorn in case of failure. Otherwise, the less exposure the better.—Yours faithfully,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Mr. Charles M'Kay.

No. 4.

Glasgow, May 26, 1829.

DEAR SIR—I am sorry that I have not had it in my power to answer your last communication at an earlier date than the above. You will, however, be ready to grant me your excuse for this seeming neglect when you are in possession of my reasons. In the meantime, as I cannot enter into particulars, I will just say that since I wrote you last I have been threatened with the strong arm of the law, and proclaimed through town and country because I happened to be the author of a circular letter to the operatives in the country.

I laid the contents of your last letter before my constituents, or delegates appointed by my constituents; and as they considered it rather opposed to the proceedings in which they were engaged, they could not give any definitive answer; but they informed me, or rather I should say instructed me, to say that if you would come to Glasgow they would be happy to hear what you have to propose for their benefit; and by giving me timely information of your arrival, or the time you intended to come, a respectable meeting would be convened.

M'KAY.

This is the sum total of what passed. Before I conclude, however, I must say you seem to have been rather cut with some of the expressions I used in my last card to you. If this is the case, I have just to say that men have a right to differ in their opinion; and I can assure you that my mind is open to conviction, and so I believe is the majority of my constituents (excuse me for saying a majority.) You say you are neither young, mad, nor inexperienced. This I knew before you expressed yourself in that manner. I am none of those who believe a man mad when he is condemned by the money-catching part of the community because he has followed the dictates of a benevolent heart. If ever we should meet, which I earnestly hope we may, you will find me both young and inexperienced. Do not think we are indifferent to your proposal. No: I believe you will (if you promise to come) be anxiously expected and warmly received. You will therefore excuse this hasty scrawl; and, in the meantime, I remain yours respectfully,

CHARLES M'KAY.

Robt. Gourlay, Esq.

No. 5.

Leith, 27th May 1829.

DEAR SIR—Yours of yesterday is received. I was not cut with your expressions, nor cast down because of opinions. The Duke of Wellington, to whom I had written on the same subject the week before, was as contemptuous of my opinions as your brother weavers can be, and the chief magistrate of this place has been more so; but I only leave them to enjoy it.

I would be with you without delay, but have business on hand here. I trouble you at present to beg your particular address—your place of residence in Glasgow, as I may send you a parcel, and write at greater length, if sure there would be no miscarriages. You can satisfy me of this by return of post, without consultation. I need scarcely say, that the heart-rending accounts from manufacturing towns touch me; but we must be cautious in expressing feeling.

ROB. GOURLAY.

Mr. Charles M'Kay.

No. 6.

Glasgow, June 1, 1829.

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge the receipt of yours of date 27th May, and on account of my having removed my former place of call, it did not reach me until this day. As you want to be informed of my place of residence, I have to state that I live about a mile from Glasgow, at a place called Drygate Toll, and by calling at Mr. John Barrie's, grocer there, you will find me; or if you have any parcel to send, you can direct to the care of Mr. John M'Kechnie, Elephant Tavern, 27, Gallowgate, Glasgow.

I do not wonder that your plans, or any plan for ameliorating the condition of the industrious poor, should be treated with contempt by

the powers that be. However, the time is not far distant when they will be under the necessity of *inquiring* into the *condition*, and adopting plans for the relief of suffering *thousands*.—Yours, &c.

CHARLES M'KAY.

Robt. Gourlay, Esq.

No. 7.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 4th June 1829.

Mr. Gourlay accompanies this with pamphlets and papers to be perused by delegates of the operative weavers, Glasgow, viz.

Letter to Lord Kellie, written	-	-	-	1808
Do. to Archdeacon Coxie,	-	-	-	1815
Tracts on the Poor Laws, 1st and 2d	-	-	-	1815
3d	-	-	-	1816
4th	-	-	-	1817
Address to the Labouring Poor	-	-	-	1817
Do. do.	-	-	-	1822
Petition to Parliament, presented by Mr. Hume	-	-	-	1828
The United Labourer, and sundry papers connected therewith	-	-	-	1828

These pamphlets and papers are not submitted from any regard to the sentiments and projects contained in them, but to afford proof of Mr. G.'s long and steady adherence to the cause of operatives and the poor. Time and experience have changed his opinion in many things.

Mr. Gourlay conceived a high respect for Glasgow Weavers from the appearance made before the Parliamentary Committee on emigration, 1827, by Joseph Foster and James Little, from that place; and he rejoices that now, when grim want is exciting others to commit useless acts of violence, sealing and cutting out webs, breaking machinery, &c., that Glasgow Weavers deport themselves manfully, prudently, and peaceably. They may learn from the present success of the Irish, that the toughest battles may be won by *organization* and perseverance. They may always be assured that the people have sufficient strength with sufficient wisdom. The operative weavers of Glasgow have funds by which they can send delegates far and near. Should they incline, they may have Mr. Gourlay's advice in person, for payment of his expenses, say a seat outside the coach going to and returning from Glasgow, with board and lodgings as long as they find him worth so much. Mr. G. dare not in prudence, even were he able, tender his services *gratis*. The engraving above is his business card. He must speak and act with the operative weavers as a man of business; and if required, will give good reasons for all that he has written as to paying the national debt from colonial land sales. He will shew how every industrious man throughout the kingdom may be speedily and profitably employed.

Mr. Gourlay will expect an answer to this in the course of six days at farthest.

Mr. Charles M'Kay.

No. 8.

*Mr. Charles M'Kay.**Toll Cross, August 9, 1829.*

I wrote to you with a parcel, but received no reply: came to Glasgow, but you had removed from Drygate Toll: called at Turnbull's session-house, but though candles were burning, no one was present—at No. 145, Trongate, but you were not there!

ROBT. GOURLAY.

No. 9.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 12th September 1829.

Mr. Gourlay is reminded of Glasgow Weavers by observing from newspapers that a number of them have craved leave to beg, and requests to be informed if communications, of which the following are copies, were received (copied in notes of 4th June 1829, and August 9th 1829).

Mr. Charles M'Kay.

(NO REPLY.)

UNITED STATES.

No. 1.

TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK STATE.

London, January 10, 1827.

FELLOW MEN—Having expressed a wish in an address to the people of Upper Canada, published among you last October, to be assisted by them, or by you, or by both, I have been asked if I want a subscription, and now say that I do. I want a subscription to the amount of five hundred dollars, made up by a single cent from each subscriber, in all fifty thousand, which might be obtained even between Utica and Buffalo, were editors of newspapers to publish this, and with others to receive subscriptions, to be remitted to the Land-office, Geneva, thence to be remitted to me.

My object is to have a manifestation of a desire on your part generally to assist me in establishing a grand system of emigration, from Europe to America, which would thus be palpable. Were five hundred dollars raised in this way, and remitted, I would, on the strength thereof, cross the Atlantic, invite citizens of New York to listen to my projects, and form associations for carrying them into execution; proceed to Albany, to Utica, to Geneva, to Rochester, and Lewiston, holding meetings at each of these places, for like ends.

Should the people of Upper Canada give welcome, I would cross Niagara river, and make a circuit round Lake Ontario; otherwise "go by way of Sacket's harbour." The government of Upper Canada

may hang me as legally as they imprisoned and banished me. Of that however, I have no fear, and but for a delay in Chancery, should have returned to the Province in autumn 1823.

It is now ten years since I resolved to seek an outlet for the poor of England in America. My first intention was to sail for New York, there to make arrangements, but chance carried me to Quebec, and originated a world of misfortunes. My objects are so pure, steady, and great, that nothing appals—nothing makes me despair; I desire to rescue the poor from the oppression of the rich, and regard governments with satisfaction only as they tend to liberate and humanize, caring nothing for names and forms. Ten years of misfortune, failure, and persecution, have rather whetted my desire to proceed in the cause of benevolence. These years have indeed afforded experiences which may greatly promote ultimate success; and emigration is not a momentary concern. It is not in times of distress only that this should be thought of: the more that the world prospers in peace, the more should emigration be regarded and encouraged.

My zeal for reform in Upper Canada sprung from no disloyal source: it had no view whatever but to render that fine country a desirable asylum from the miseries of the parent state. With reform in Canada, emigration from hence would have been more immediately successful, and less resisted by our government, than emigration to the United States. Now there are fewer obstructions, and prejudices are dying away, while we have people to spare for every part of the new world—hundreds of thousands for each succeeding year.

There is a rumour of war, but this, I trust, will prove groundless; and could peace be maintained for twenty years, I doubt not but all who speak the English language may again be re-united under one government. I am told that congress proposes speedily to dispose of the remaining unoccupied lands of the Union to individuals, for little or nothing. Were I at New York, I would post to Washington, wait on the President, and advise that not another acre should be disposed of till the subject is well understood. Pardon me!—your government never has rightly understood how a new country should be most profitably settled, and that is a matter of utmost consequence to humanity and the world at large. I need not say more. If you incline to assist me, club your cents, by tens, and hundreds, and thousands, without delay.

ROB. GOURLAY.

House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields.

The above was published in American newspapers; and in the Colonial Advocate, published at New York, Upper Canada, January 10, 1828, there was the following article:—

“ LATEST FROM ENGLAND.

“ *New Project.*—Mr. Robert Gourlay has addressed a letter to the people of the state of New York, calling upon them each and all to subscribe one cent to enable him to raise a fund. This fund to be employed in migrating the poor of England and Ireland to the United States.” A good specimen of editorial silliness, and of general misconception.

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RE-UNION.

Americans!—Descendants of Britain!—You who alone are independent and really free!—Disclaim not the land of your ancestors; nor exult over kindred still floundering in the meshes of power. While, as a nation, you are yet young and vigorous, remember that generosity is the noblest characteristic of youth. You cannot, unassisted, conquer, were your navy quadrupled; and even without it are invincible. It was well you did not conquer Canada; and be not covetous of Cuba. Extend the right-hand of fellowship across the Atlantic. Let us be done with jealousy and war—vanity and vexation of spirit. Let us re-unite, and then you may be more than conquerors. Thus, being secure yourselves, you may give security to all. Let Britons and Americans re-unite, and enclasp the globe in their arms; bestow enlightened laws on the world, and diffusing their language throughout, erect a tower whose top may reach unto heaven—not of matter but of mind—a tower of strength for eternal liberty. Why should you dread “the King, who can do no wrong?”—Why should we, the people, be afraid of tyranny?—Why should we be longer blinded with prejudice and priestcraft?—United, and with a free press to circulate common sense, we shall be all in all, to make or to mend government. Let us regard the separation of fifty years only as the wise decree of Providence, for our common good, to expose failings on both sides; and let us now profit by it, that our family-compact may be renewed and confirmed. How monstrous to suppose that the subjugated French of Lower Canada, or the rag-tag of all nations, scattered over other provinces, should be better disposed towards Britain than you, the genuine offspring of her patriots and statesmen—her moralists and martyrs—her poets and philosophers:—you, whose blood ran pure from the veins of Bruce and Wallace—Hampden and Sydney—Wickcliffe, Wishart, and Knox—Bacon and Newton—Shakespeare, Milton, and More. How monstrous to think that we, the people of Britain, should sympathize more warmly with the benighted things who had not heart to rally under the banner of Washington, nor even now, sense and spirit to rid themselves of court-appointed governors, than you, who nobly established liberty, and first gave hope to the world:—That we cannot re-unite, when our blood and spirit, and language, and laws, and sentiments are all the same: nay, when our interests, down to the lowest figure, rightly understood, are one. It is indeed more the interest of Britain and America to be one whole than it is for your individual states to be united. The northern, southern, and western states have each distinct and opposite interests. As a whole, with Britain, you would be less than ever subject to change and disunion.

Americans!—You of Pittsfield, who cheered me when cheerless: know that I repressed ardour only that the flame of freedom might have time to gather strength—ultimately to burn forth with unextinguishable splendour. There was not among you one whose bosom

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glowed with more generous passion, and now is the time for acknowledgment. My efforts in Canada were solely to open a door of connexion with America for a grand system of emigration. Now it is open, and cannot be closed. It matters not where emigrants land. Everywhere they will become independent: it cannot be otherwise. Think of it: talk of it: cherish the idea that the world must speedily be emancipated, if the people unite and establish a grand system of emigration. Had we free trade, the interchange of manufactures for food would be immense. The profits of agriculture would draw forth the industrious labourers of Europe, and a million at least would annually cross the Atlantic, to enjoy the blessings of your excellent institutions: not redemptioners—not paupers: but free, vigorous, and substantial settlers—prospering, and to prosper.

I have said that your government never has rightly understood how a new country should be most profitably settled; and that were I at New York, I would post to Washington, wait on the President, and advise that not another acre of national territory should be disposed of till the subject is well understood. Repeating this, I trust attention may be arrested, for it is matter of importance, not to you only, but to mankind at large. Ten years ago, travelling among you, this idea occurred, and ever since I have mused upon it: indeed these ten years have been mainly occupied with such contemplations; and four of them in prison have brightened my prospects, and ripened my plans. Owen's plans are trifling when compared with mine. They are well enough for experiment, but fundamentally erroneous. Human energy can be highly stimulated only by the love of self, property, and power—by individuality. Passions were bestowed, not to be smothered, but quickened; and the question is, how to regulate—to balance man against man, and guard against dangerous ascendancies. A community of goods may ensure happiness; but man was not made for bread alone: he was made not only to be happy, but great. Owen has means and coadjutors: with these I could in a few years create a stream of emigration which would be irresistible: which would refresh Europe—strengthen America—cement the human race—weaken the dominion of despots, and leave the Holy Alliance to contempt.

ROBT. GOURLAY.

*House of Correction, Cold Bath Fields,
London, October 10, 1827.*

No. 3.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 24th December 1829.

SIR—There was a time when no one disliked you more than I did, But then half your own nation, and all the world besides, were against you. My countryman Melish, the geographer, wrote to me in Niagara Jail, January 1819, from Harrisburgh, that I "*was entirely wrong as to the execution of the two scoundrels called Arbuthnot and Ambristic;*" but antipathy to military despotism, and uncontradicted assertions, then admitted of no reasoning. Your conduct has since undergone the severest scrutiny, and the most free, most intilgent,

and most moral people on earth have not only acquitted, but raised you to the highest dignity. Yes, Sir, to be President of the United States is to be more exalted than the mightiest emperor that ever swayed a sceptre; infinitely more exalted than the greatest of hereditary puppets. Placed where you now are, it would be impious to doubt your merits or purity of heart; and most sincerely do I say, "whom the Lord justifieth, who is he that condemneth?"

I left home in England April 1817, on a visit to my friends and property in Canada. Expecting to land at New York, four tracts published by me on the poor law system were put in my trunk, as introduction there, where I wished to establish an Emigration Society. Arriving at Liverpool a few hours too late lost my passage to New York. I sailed for Quebec, and thence arose a train of events which, up to this hour, has marred all my projects; but by which I am more than ever determined to persevere, believing that every thing great must be dearly paid for.

The annexed printed address was dispatched to Washington, in hope that I would follow it within a year; but here I am, stranded and netted in by grievous perplexity. Were I free, no time would be lost in sailing for America; and arriving there, I would hasten to confer with you, assured not only of welcome, but that with your ear, and the concert of your constituents, my designs of nine-and-twenty years could be accomplished. These need no secrecy, nor can they be advanced by force. They regard directly neither politics nor government. They are purely benevolent, and have but one object, the good of our fellow men. When you see from newspapers what wretchedness prevails in London, in Dublin, in Manchester, nay, throughout the united kingdom; when you peruse our parliamentary reports, and observe what pains are bestowed to search for causes, and discover remedies; when you reflect on the generous disposition of the British nation, and witness the efforts made by us in the cause of humanity; when you mark the prevailing spirit of our rulers, aiming continually, even in madness and errors, at what is fair and honourable, and of good report; nay, when you behold the Holy Alliance itself bending to necessity, the dread and glorious power of awakened civilization,—that power which the press is daily strengthening: when you see this leviathan drawn out with a hook, and now acting with submission to public opinion, you must be aware that a new age is approaching, and that man is destined, ere long, to enjoy better days; you must now be sensible that it is not so much the tyranny of government, as the ascendancy of wealth, generated by the funding system, and that for the time rendered omnipotent by the increase of machinery, which beggars and enslaves the mass of our population. Americans generally believe that convulsion only can cure the evil, but God forbid. That will best be done by endurance, by peace, by time: That may be speedily done by establishing a grand system of emigration: that may be done, sir, with your ear, and the concert of your constituents.

As soon as free and able, I shall be off to commune with you, and till then, accept the assurance of my respect.

ROBT. GOURLAY.

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GOURLAY.

Mr. Gourlay presents his compliments to General Macomb. Mr. G. received a letter from a friend in Upper Canada lately, who had been last summer at Washington, and reported that General Macomb inquired kindly after him.

Mr. G. remembers having spent some days in a hotel at Kingston with Mrs. Macomb and her son or nephew, summer 1817, and afterwards crossing Lake Ontario with them in the steam-boat. Delighted with the lady's conversation and manners, Mr. G. made bold, when at Detroit, some months afterwards, to wait on her at the governor's house; and remembers with much pleasure the reception met with there. He can never forget contrasting the dreary and wretched appearance on the British side of the river to the thriving, cleanly, and spacious streets of Detroit; but above all, the poor shrivelled French Canadians and the magistracy of his Majesty, with the open countenance, frank address, and full-grown manhood of General Macomb.

Mr. Gourlay had for many years before stood the brunt of persecution because of his principles, and ever since has been the victim of remorseless vengeance. Were he at Washington he could a tale unfold. Now, he can only make the best use of this sheet. He begs that General Macomb will present it to the President; and wishes many a merry Christmas to the Republic.

January 28, 1830.

P.S.—The above was despatched when first written to General Macomb, to be presented to you by him, and a duplicate a few days later. Copies were also sent to Mr. Henderson, Washington; Messrs. Webster and Skinner, Albany; Mr. Fellows, Geneva; Mr. Stuart, near New York; the Secretary of Massachusetts Agricultural Society; and Major Secord, Upper Canada. Thus, sir, have I at once declared my sentiments and views, as well as made reparation for what I formerly published to your prejudice. I have further read my letter to many individuals, and shall give a copy to be deposited in the library of St. Andrew's University, my *alma mater*.

Your message was printed in Edinburgh, the 9th instant, and gave universal satisfaction. We are glad you are liberally disposed to Britain: glad that your tariff is to be reconsidered: glad that popular rights are to be more and more maintained: glad that Indians are to be kindly treated: glad that your national resources, after the liquidation of debt, are to be applied to agricultural improvements—the extension of roads and canals.

Let me, sir, about to despatch this last copy of my letter directly to yourself, repeat, with respectful consideration, what I have again and again asserted, that "your government never has rightly understood how a new country should be most profitably settled."

ROBT. GOURLAY.

General Jackson.

UPPER CANADA.

No. 1.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 9th February 1830.

MADAM—Mr. Methven, writer in Cupar, being employed by one of my creditors to get a settlement brought about, found it necessary to write to you; and you thought proper, in return, to address a letter to me through him, dated 30th October 1829, at once ridiculously peevish, and monstrously unjust. Madam! look to a copy of what your brother wrote to me in Canada, and which never should have been exhibited, but for his and your persevering blindness.

" York, March 23, 1818.

" MY DEAR GOURLAY—My feelings were never so much hurt as they were this morning, on reading a letter from Mrs. Clark to me, recounting the shocking behaviour of herself and father to you; I am at present too much vexed to say anything more on the subject, but sincerely hope your good sense will make you look upon this worse than savage treatment as it deserves. I hope to see you nearly as soon as, or shortly after this will reach you; I wrote you the other day by Mr. Stevenson (son-in-law to Mr. Addison.) Yours truly,
" THOMAS CLARK."

What, Madam, did your brother do after writing this letter? He and Mr. William Dickson, had, by their violent complaints against the executive government, drawn me into a controversy, and made me publicly declare that there was "*one thing needful, viz. a radical change of system in the government of Upper Canada.*" For publishing this, and advising the people to send home a commission to procure this *one thing needful*, which by this time would have made his landed property ten times more valuable than it now is—for this your brother, more savage than his wife, pronounced my conduct seditious, and at a township meeting, uttered against me the most unfounded calumnies. Madam, your brother is now in Britain, and anywhere I will meet him face to face, either in doors or out—before the public, or before parliament, and dare him to convict me of a single mean, cowardly, or dishonest act in the whole course of my life. More than that, I will shew good cause for all you see in my engraved business card which heads this letter. If he has a single spark of courage or honesty remaining, he will repel what I have here said of legislative councillors, who were no other than the *Honourable* Thomas Clark, and the *Honourable* William Dickson—repel or make me amends. As you transmitted your letter to me through Mr. Methven, this shall go to you through him, while a copy shall be despatched to your brother, and several to Upper Canada.—Yours faithfully,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Miss Jean Clark.

No. 2.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, February 20th, 1830.

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T. GOURLAY.

SIR—I did not expect that Mr. Methven would forward my letter to your sister, and he has not. My object was to make him witness it, and to rouse you into a just sense of your and Dickson's conduct, in first instigating me to call for inquiry into the state of Upper Canada, and then persecuting me to the death. But, sir, I am not yet dead; and, while you are in Britain, ask you to appear with me before government and say what is best to be done for this and that country, conjointly, at the present awful crisis. You always appeared to me a good-hearted honest man, but miserably misled by Dickson. Be led now by a sense of the wrong done to me and the cause of truth. In your placard of 23d April 1818, you characterised my writings as "*improper and unwarrantable*." But all that I wrote in Canada up to that date, and onward till my banishment, August 1819, can yet be produced by me, and will prove that my object was of the purest and most exalted kind. I can prove, indeed, by a series of writings up to the present time, that no man ever adhered more pertinaciously to a great cause than I have done for twenty-nine years:—Yes, it is twenty-nine years since I was employed by government to make inquiries for bettering the condition of the poor, and it was mainly for that cause I exerted myself in Upper Canada. Six years ago Lord Liverpool declared that were we to go to war, there would be no want of means to carry it on; and on the 12th instant, the Duke of Wellington said "the country was never in such a high state of preparation for war at any period within my memory, as at the present moment—never in my time was its credit higher, or its power and efficiency for foreign war greater." But the question is, How to make these means, this state of preparation and efficiency, redound to the honour and advantage of the country during peace? and I, sir, will dare to answer it.

In June 1826, I offered to his Majesty's ministers to shew how they could "remove 15,000 people to the colonies that year, and at least 50,000 afterwards annually, with comfort to themselves and profit to the nation—give instant stimulus to industry in every quarter—draw from the sale of colonial lands half a million by the end of five years, and in twenty, have an yearly income from the same of five millions, while poor-rates are reduced to a trifle." I shall now better that offer by saying that 100,000 may be removed this year into British America, and as many annually, for at least twenty years to come, with comfort to themselves and profit to the nation: but no time should be lost. I shall despatch copies of this to the Duke of Wellington and Sir George Murray, besides several to Upper Canada, that all at home and abroad may witness what I say; and at a day's notice from the ministers shall set off for London to meet you before them. I shall take with me the emigration reports, whereby to prove my points, and demonstrate that Mr. Wilmot Horton knows nothing of right principles of poor law reform and emigration, but has laboured for years

to mystify and mislead on that all important subject. I repeat, no time should be lost, and am your obedient servant,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

N.B.—The above has been read to two writers in Edinburgh, one of whom directs the letter.

EMIGRATION—MR. GOURLAY.

[*Extracted from the Dundee Advertiser, March 11, 1830.*]

The following are a placard, published by an individual in Canada, from the publication of which Mr. Gourlay dates all his misfortunes, and two communications addressed by Mr. Gourlay to this individual, on learning that he had arrived in Great Britain. We know little of Mr. Gourlay's case; but we have been induced to publish these documents, chiefly because, on conversing with him, we think his plans of emigration are essentially sound and excellent. They are founded on the assumption, that, in a country like this, where labour is superabundant and scantily remunerated, the labourers can only protect themselves effectually from distress, either by resisting the natural impulse to multiply their numbers, or by finding means of transporting themselves, before the pressure becomes great, to places where labour is scarce and highly productive. The first remedy is found to be impracticable in the present state of civilization; but there does not appear to be the same obstacles to the application of the second. It is easy to conceive how a publication like the subjoined placard would operate against a person like Mr. Gourlay,—especially in a country like Canada, which is attempted to be governed after the aristocratic notions of Great Britain. Nothing could be more necessary than the inquiry for which Mr. Gourlay called. Nothing in politics can be more certain than that Great Britain will lose Canada, if it continue to be governed as it is and has been. We say that Great Britain will lose Canada; but we should rather have adopted the vulgar phraseology, and said that she will GAIN a loss by losing it. Only think of our attempting to establish a hot-bed of aristocratic fungi in the near vicinity of the United States of America!

To the Public.

It having been stated to me, by some of my friends, that the public mind was impressed with the idea of my having participated in and sanctioned the recent improper and unwarrantable publications of Mr. Robert Gourlay, I conceive it a duty which I owe to the Government, to the province, and to myself, to declare that, beyond publishing a statistical report of this province, he had neither my approbation nor my countenance.

In making this declaration, I trust that the tenor of my life justifies my asserting that factious discontent never originated in my breast. Having said this much in vindication of my own sentiments, I shall in order to prevent error in, and rescue from distress

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the heedless proselytes of Mr. Gourlay's *One Thing Needful*—viz. "a radical change of system in the Government of Upper Canada"—transcribe, for their information, an extract from the common law of the British empire, which bears on the point of unlawful meetings or conventions, viz. "The constitution of Great Britain having placed the representation of the nation, and the expression of the national will, in the Parliament, no other meeting or convention, even of every individual in the kingdom, would be a competent organ to express that will; and meetings of such a nature, tending merely to sedition, and to delude the people into an imaginary assertion of rights, which they had before delegated to their representatives in Parliament, could only tend to introduce anarchy and confusion, and to overturn every settled principle of government." An act of Parliament was passed in Ireland in the year 1793 to prevent any such meetings or conventions; and a few ignorant individuals who, in the same year, had dared to assemble under that title in Scotland, were quickly dispersed, and their leaders convicted of seditious practices, for which they were sentenced to transportation. I shall conclude with recommending to all to weigh well how they attend to visionary enthusiasts.

THOMAS CLARK.

Niagara, April 18, 1818.

Leith, February 24, 1830.

There, Sir, is what was published in the *Niagara Spectator*, April 23, 1818. There is the wretched compound of false insinuation, selfish dread, and absurdity, with which you raised the hue and cry against fair and constitutional inquiry. You put your name to it; but William Dickson, I doubt not, was the author. He who had been most abusive of the Executive Government—he who offered me 500 acres of land for my first political address—he who ordered me out of the province, and made inquiry still more necessary. Did not you yourself tell me that Upper Canada would not be five years under British dominion, governed as it then was? and has it been better governed since? Has not every succeeding year given proof of mismanagement? Have not the most loyal inhabitants been vexed again and again with illiberal treatment? Has not your landed property declined in value? Go, Sir, with me, before ministers, and answer these questions. Before them I will have no hesitation to say that there should be a radical change of system in the government of Upper Canada. Yes, with such a change throughout British America, a million a year may be saved, and that country retained to this—retained for glorious results, instead of being disgraced with conquest or rebellion.

The moment your arrival in this country was announced, I resolved to challenge you to meet me face to face, and purposely delayed till Parliament was assembled. I have written at intervals, the better to awaken you, and give assurance that I am steady. My first letter was intended to touch your feelings, my second to exhibit objects great and good; and here is your protest against what yourself instigated. You are in Britain at the best time to give evidence. No one knows Canada better; and no one can better confirm what I want

to establish, were you properly questioned. Your insinuations against me were vile, and every accusation was false. The sufferings I have endured in consequence are beyond description; but I am not unforgiving. When you visited us in Wiltshire, 1814, you saw me at the head of an amiable family—all my affairs in order, and my farm managed to admiration. I visited you in Canada: instigated by you and Dickson, I called for inquiry into the state of the Province; was deserted, persecuted, and ruined. Sir, I repeat that I am not unforgiving. Come forward instantly and volunteer your appearance with me before Parliament or his Majesty's Ministers. My prime object has all along been to establish a grand system of emigration; and that may be instantly set on foot, though the political state of Canada is unchanged. I could meet you in London next week; and, before another was at an end, make all sensible that a hundred thousand people may be removed into British America this very year, with comfort to themselves and profit to the nation.

Copies of this letter shall follow the last to the Duke of Wellington, and Sir George Murray—be sent to Canada, and lodged in the hands of respectable persons here. We are now at issue. Within three weeks you may convict me of being a "visionary enthusiast," or make amends for unspeakable wrong.—Your obedient servant,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

The Honourable Thomas Clark.

Copied at Dysart, February 26, 1830.

JAMES BAIN, *witness.*

ROBT. DOBIE, *witness.*

WM. SWAN, *witness.*

Seafeld, Fife, February 26, 1830.

P. S.—The importance of this communication is such, that I have crossed to Fife, that a copy might be sent to the Earl of Rosslyn (to be laid before the Privy Council), which it now is, witnessed by his factor Mr. Bain, Mr. Dobie, a magistrate of Dysart, and Mr. Swan, justice of the peace, Kirkaldy. This duplicate will be directed by my daughter, and sealed with her seal, that you may think more seriously of having ruined, not me only, but my family, by vile insinuations.

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Frierton, Fife, March 10, 1830.

You have, or you have not, come forward: His Majesty's Ministers have, or have not, resolved to give me a hearing; but however this may be, I shall remain steady—determined in principle, and resolute for truth.

My last communication was read to a public meeting in Kirkaldy, and shown to many persons elsewhere. You now see it in print, and thus it will go forth to the world. Ten years ago, the editor of the *Dundee Advertiser* liberally gave his paper to make known my horrible treatment in Canada: and is now to exhibit these my letters to you, that the public may judge betwixt us. I am here on the spot, dear to my earliest recollections, and with my oldest friend. Here,

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where my mother's family has sojourned for a hundred years, noted for sterling honesty; and in this county, where my forefathers can be reckoned back through seven hundred and fifty years, without one blot on their escutcheon, I take my stand against slander, and say with you, that "*factionous discontent never originated in my breast.*"

If ever a cause justified *enthusiasm* (and what great good is accomplished without such agency?) it was that maintained by me in Canada, its sole object being to render that fine country an asylum from distress. You never had such opportunity to do good as by adhering to me, whom you first instigated and then betrayed. You cannot say no. I have yet your letter of February 1818, bidding me bring to York, where you were then sitting in the Legislative Council, some copies of the *Niagara Spectator*, containing my call for inquiry into the state of the province "*as it was,*" you said, "*selling for twelve dollars a copy.*" I can assert that you expressed a wish, by no means agreeable to me, that my brother might be refused a grant of land, the better to manifest the infamous conduct of the Local Government; and you cannot deny, that only a few days before publishing your protest against my proceedings, you sat most cordially with me in a large company, and then paid a dollar towards sending home the commission for inquiry.

The writings characterized by you as "*improper and unwarrantable,*" were within the last three weeks submitted to a university professor, who was so struck with their power, and the purity of my motives, that he urged me to publish them immediately, and get my friends, Professors Leslie and Dr. Chalmers, to back endeavours for inquiry into my whole case.

Now, sir, knowing the confusion with which you must read this, I am anxious to save your blushes. You have, first and last, been misled by a man who has not a tenth part of your sense, or a hundredth part of your goodness—indeed by the most dangerous fool I ever had the misfortune to come in contact with. Be yet undeceived. Consider that there is a Providence in all things; and that we are but instruments. Should you yet do your duty, it will be easy for me to pardon—

"Forgiveness to the injured doth belong,
They never pardon who have done the wrong."

It was not, sir, because of my being a *visionary*, that after two honourable acquittals on jury trial, I was flung into prison and ruined; but I now give you opportunity to prove that I am one, repeating that *a hundred thousand people may be removed to British America this very year, with comfort to themselves and profit to the nation; and that merely by the force of two proclamations,—one addressed to the people at home, and the other to the people abroad.* I shall write these proclamations as soon as required; but no time should be lost, as they ought to be issued this very month.

I have purposely staid from home ten days, to give time for your decision, and that of Government. Two days hence, I return to Leith,

and, if called on, shall proceed immediately to London. Well knowing the madness of power and the inveteracy of prejudice, I am by no means sanguine; but heard or unheard, shall remain steady to the cause of truth and benevolence, nothing envying either your wealth or your nominal honour.

ROBT. GOURLAY.

The Honourable Thomas Clark.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

No. 1.

Seafeld, near Kinghorn, July 1, 1828.

SIR—Some years ago I sent your predecessor, Mr. Huskisson, a paper relating to colonial policy, of vast importance, desiring him to return it in a blank cover if thought little of. The paper was returned accordingly; and thenceforth I thought little of Mr. Huskisson.

I now enclose for your perusal a handbill (Purposes of Emigration Societies—Union and Agency), copies of which were lately forwarded to the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Peel, and Mr. Wilmot Horton, with duplicates for the Privy Council. Should you think this of little consequence, return it in a blank cover along with the accompanying card, and we shall be mutually satisfied. It is, sir, in the power of the British Government to effect all that I assert in my card, viz. that, "*without altering a single statute, changing a single institution, or interfering with property, the whole system of the poor laws and rates may be dispensed with in twenty years, while the national debt may be paid off within fifty years from sales of colonial lands.*" There is, however, no time to be lost; and I am ever your obedient servant,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Sir George Murray.

N.B.—Although every thing like the above should be judged of by its own merits you are welcome to consult as to me with Sir Henry Torrens, or write to your Perthshire constituent, Captain James Kerr of East Grange, now residing at Greenside, near Largo, Fife. I repeat there is no time to be lost.

R. G.

No. 2.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, November 25, 1828.

SIR—Referring you to my letter from Seafeld of July 1st, I now accompany this with another handbill (Discourses), and you are at all times welcome to make advantage of your obedient servant,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Sir George Murray.

No. 3.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, April 19, 1829.

MY LORD DUKE—While you were merely a soldier I thought little of you, seeing your greatest victories turn on a straw; and still less when you became Premier, being yet ignorant of your real character. You have now achieved a victory of the highest order. You have conquered prejudices, even your own, and brought mankind into closer union. You, who are fearless, have, for the sake of peace, surrendered opinions; and unquestionably this offering of love will be propitious to humanity.

But, my lord, Catholic Emancipation leaves much to be done—much which should be done without delay. At home the greatest evil is the poor law system; and the colonial system is altogether wretched.

You see what I have engraved above. It was engraved to seal opinion after my last appeal to government proved fruitless. It will be adhered to now that I am abandoned by the people, and will be adhered to whether this letter is acknowledged or not. To prevent mistakes, I distinctly say that, "*without altering a single statute, changing a single institution, or interfering with property, the whole system of the poor laws and rates may be dispensed with in twenty years, while the national debt may be paid off within fifty years from sales of colonial lands.*"

Five years ago I offered Mr. Peel a plan for reforming the poor law system, and was desired to send it to him in writing. This I could not do; but should your Grace so far confide as to send for me: give me an hour's personal interview, to declare leading principles and the means to explain fully, which I could do within a month, I shall be forthcoming immediately. I shall subjoin a copy of my last letter to his Majesty that your Grace may, if you please, submit the whole to the King.—I have the honour to be your Grace's obedient servant,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

The Duke of Wellington.

No. 4.

Mr. Gourlay presents respectful compliments to the Duke of Wellington. Requests that this letter (a letter from Upper Canada, dated 23d February 1829, announcing that the act under colour of which I was banished had been that day repealed) may be returned after perusal; and, at sametime, Mr. Gourlay's letter to his Grace of 19th instant, if its contents are of no moment to his Majesty's Government.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, April 24, 1829.

No. 5.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 3d May 1829.

SIR—Two letters returned to me in the Duke of Wellington's blank cover accompanying this will speak for themselves; and I have to request that you will show the whole to your brother magistrates.

Rejected by the Premier, I remain steadfast to my opinions, and with the countenance of magistrates, would go before the inhabitants of Leith to prove them. I say so with the clear conviction, that failing to satisfy, I must incur disgrace: with the countenance of magistrates, I shall undertake, not only to prove what is engraved above, but to shew how every industrious man may have constant and profitable employment.

My letter to the Duke was dated, as this is, on Sunday, that my offers may be considered more sacred, when trade is languishing, and labourers are starving.

Should you incline, I shall wait on you personally further to explain. But if, like his Grace, you are unconfiding, be so good as return what is now sent, so as to occasion least trouble.—I am respectfully yours,

ROB. GOURLAY.

James Scarth, Esq.
Chief Magistrate of Leith.

No. 6.

Leith, 29th May 1829.

SIR—I beg leave to inclose the papers which you transmitted to me on the 3d instant, and to apologize for having kept them so long, from which I trust you have experienced no inconvenience.—I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

JAMES SCARTH.

Mr. Robt. Gourlay.

No. 7.

2, Bridge Street, June 8, 1829.

SIR—You did not keep my Canada letter and that to the Duke of Wellington, returned by his Grace, an hour too long. I had little expectation you would respect my assertion that the national debt may be paid off from colonial land sales, but wished to have you as a witness that government was apprized of it; and the longer you kept the letter, the better will be your recollection of the occurrence.

I now come lower down, and nearer home; and beg your acceptance of plans for the improvement of Edinburgh. Should you approve of these, you may do me essential service by recommending them to the notice of your brother magistrates and numerous friends.—I have the honour to be respectfully yours,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

James Scarth, Esq.

No. 8.

“ EMIGRATION.”

“ Sir M. S. Stewart presented a petition from the Society of Emigration in Glasgow, praying for aid to persons wishing to emigrate to the colonies. He asked what were the intentions of his Majesty’s Government with regard to this subject.”

" Sir George Murray said, that if any practicable plan could be devised, his Majesty's Government would have no objections to carry it into effect ; but they could not agree to go to any expense."—*Morning Chronicle*, 3d June, 1829.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, September 25, 1829.

SIR GEORGE—I addressed to you a letter dated July 1, and November 25, 1828, as I do this, to call attention to what is engraved above, and I have kept the extract from the *Morning Chronicle* till this quiet time of the year, when probably you have most leisure to reflect on the subject, and when you may compare it with what I recorded, page 4 of the general introduction to my statistical account of Upper Canada, under date 1820.

" I do assert that by proper management, the miseries experienced by emigrants going to Canada might be averted, and that even people destitute of means could be comfortably settled there."

I addressed the Duke of Wellington April 19, 1829, and annexed my last letter to the King. Five days afterwards, I requested to have this returned, if its contents were of no moment to his Majesty's government. It was returned under the Duke of Wellington's frank, and then lodged with the chief magistrate of Leith for upwards of three weeks. It shall accompany this, and you may reproduce it to the Premier. He has fought a duel without necessity, and indicted a newspaper editor for calling him *proud, overbearing, grasping, dishonest, and unprincipled*,—all beneath the dignity of a British Minister. His opposition to Canning's corn-bill induced me to call him stupid, and when that opposition appeared to proceed from mere dislike to Canning himself, I thought worse of him ; nor would aught less than Catholic Emancipation have tempted me to submit to him my letter to his Majesty.

Had the Duke of Wellington remained in the army, his good fortune would have secured renown, and posterity would have bowed for ever to the conqueror of Napoleon. But now, that in the plenitude of his power he becomes fretful—now, when thousands of industrious people in London, Dublin, Manchester, Glasgow, nay, every where, and even during harvest, are unemployed and starving, he is occupied with prosecuting for libel, how little does he appear !

Sir, there is but one way of keeping the empire entire and happy, that is by establishing a grand system of emigration, and I can tell how that may be done. An able writer in the *Quarterly Review* of April last, has said, " No pains should be spared to teach the labouring classes to regard the colonies as the land of promise, which it should be their highest ambition to be able to reach."

This, sir, is most true ; and I can tell how it may be done. Indeed, with the Duke of Wellington's power, it would be as easy as it was for Columbus to discover America by sailing westward. When I say this, is the Duke of Wellington justified in refusing me a hearing ? No, sir ; and it was to mark my sense of his conduct that I made our chief magistrate witness my returned letter. I assert that letter is worthy of serious consideration ; and the Duke of Wellington would

do well to drop his paltry prosecutions and yet attend to it—yet send for and hear me. Every age has given proof of the intolerance of installed power. It would be worthy of the present to rise above it—worthy of the conqueror of Napoleon to take the lead in liberality: at this moment he can do more than any man that ever existed: at this moment Britain may become mistress of the world, merely by wise colonial policy, and without again drawing a sword. From this moment she may pine and fall to pieces. How vast then is the responsibility of her present rulers!

I sent you yesterday plans for the improvement of Edinburgh, merely to shew how I have employed leisure time; but I assure you it would give me pleasure to have more important matters to think of; and should the Duke of Wellington and you incline, that may be speedily. He shall have a copy of this letter, and, *unheard*, you shall have no further trouble from me.—Your obedient servant,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Sir George Murray.

No. 9.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, September 30th, 1829.

SIR—So little did I know of you beyond being secretary of state, when addressing you last week, that I conceived you were head of your family in Perthshire.

In like manner you may have heard of me only as having been confined in Cold Bath Fields Prison as a madman, and thence have cast aside my letters as mere ravings. Let me remind you, however, that I referred in that of July 1, 1828, to Sir Henry Torrens, and one of your constituents. This shall be accompanied with a letter from one of the most eminent men of the age, Dr. Chalmers, dated 17th February 1826, and directed to me in the above-named prison. Dr. Chalmers, you will observe, not only speaks of me with kindness and respect, but states that I was "*one of the ablest of his fellow students.*" I soon afterwards wrote to him as lecturer on political economy, and asserted that "a common labourer may earn the price of half a bushel of wheat per day, while the present amount of rents and taxes is paid," and this I repeated in letters to more than eighty clergymen of Fife, April 1826, offering to explain, if the Doctor gave no solution by May following.

Now, sir, to all that I have said to you, and in my letter to his Majesty returned by the Duke of Wellington, I add the above assertion, and shall prove it if the Duke will send for, and hear me—prove it or be disgraced.

I meant his Grace no disrespect by the freedom of my language. I neither flatter nor fear, and value myself chiefly as an honest man. My wish was to rouse him, and by that rousing I had proof of his having seen my letter to the King, which I could not obtain from a former minister. The victories spoken of were those of Britain, and if they turned on a straw, we have the more reason to give the glory to God—the more reason to make good use of the peace which they

purchased by calmly considering what should now be done to ensure happiness to mankind.

A copy of my last letter to you was transmitted to the Duke of Wellington, as a copy of this shall be; and all that I now beg, is to be informed if he will send for and hear me.

You will have the goodness to return Dr. Chalmers' letter; and if denied a hearing, enclose it in a blank cover, to give least trouble to yourself.—I have the honour to be, sir, yours faithfully,

ROBT. GOURLAY

Sir George Murray.

No. 10.

Pratis, Fifeshire, October 2, 1829.

SIR—While you and the Duke of Wellington may be perusing my letter of 30th ultimo, I am seated in a house, built and occupied by me two-and-twenty years ago, when I was perhaps, without exception, the most fortunate man in this county. My father then stood pre-eminent for public spirit, and as a gentleman, was without stain. I and my family were provided for to our utmost wish, and beyond risk, as was then thought. Out of doors I was well with all ranks; in retirement, blessed with the society of a most amiable wife, and her friend, the lady of the late Sir Henry Torrens. An accident at a county meeting touched my feelings, and biased my fate. I left this place for England, not because of that accident, but to follow out studies of the poor law system, and I will dare to say, have encountered in continued succession, during the last one-and-twenty years, more vexation than any man alive. At this moment I am deprived of all property, abandoned by relations, unhoused, separated from my children, and can assist them only by putting an end to my existence, which I shall not do while reason and hope remain. At this moment, Sir, I do not despair even of making good what is stated in my letter to the king, returned to me in the blank cover of the Duke of Wellington. His Grace may send for and hear me; or, let me be examined in Edinburgh during the present month, by three university professors, who have known me from boyhood, viz. Dr. Chalmers, Dr. James Brown, and Mr. Leslie, with any other the Duke of Wellington may name, and I shall answer every question they may put, either as to the assertions made, or conduct at home and abroad. If I have injured any human being, or offended against any law, I shall make any proper amends: if I have erred in conduct, I shall submit to rebuke.

This letter, and a copy, shall be dispatched without cover, to you and the Duke of Wellington, that if you refuse my offers, it may be in your power to oblige me by returning it to me in Leith, bearing the post-marks, that I may exhibit it to the public, and leave it as an inheritance to my children.—I have the honour to be, sir, most faithfully and sincerely yours,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Sir George Murray.

No. 11.

St. Andrews, October 10, 1829.

MY LORD—I am here, in the arms of *alma mater*, and every way well circumstanced for philosophical reflection. Let us then indulge.

While you eyed your watch, counting the minutes of slaughter and endurance, till the Prussians came up; while, too, Napoleon surveyed the field of Waterloo, longing for Grouchy,—Napoleon, who said that he had yet thirty years to live, and would not sit on a throne without glory, was there not a superior power, a Disposer of events? Yes, most assuredly. All that has passed has been with the will, and by the power of an Almighty Being, who prepared you for the battle, and gave you the victory.

Up to this hour, believing all for the best, honour is due to you, not as our minister only, but as the instrument of God. But while we do you honour, should we flatter and seal up your eyes? Should we not tell you what we think, and should you not submit to be arraigned and tried by the British people? Should you not confide in public opinion, rather than in the award of a court of justice? Should you not hear an individual, however low in your opinion, who stakes his all on the issue, and who can have no object but the good of his fellow men?

Believe me, my Lord, with high respect, your Grace's obedient servant,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

The Duke of Wellington.

N. B.—The Duke of Wellington may shew the accompanying *plan* to his Majesty, and point out the situation for an equestrian statue of the King.

No. 12.

St. Andrews, October 10, 1829.

SIR—This letter has no other object but to close a series. Just now twelve years, travelling in the United States of America, I saw the errors in the system of settling wild land, and the advantage which might accrue to Britain from the adoption of a right system. In a letter addressed soon after this to Sir H. Torrens, to be laid before Lord Bathurst or the Duke of York, I asserted that Upper Canada might afford a revenue after maintaining two regiments, repairing, and keeping in repair the forts, &c. My efforts in that Province, which led to my ruin, chiefly went to obtain inquiry into the principles of rightly settling wild land. Since then, efforts to the same end have been made year after year, but all in vain. Emigration committees have sat and reported again and again, but never have attended to this most important point. I am now about to return to Leith, have little hope of a hearing, but if it is granted either by the Duke of Wellington personally, or by a commission in Edinburgh, I shall shew, by a regular series of documents, from the year 1817 till the present time, how constantly I have pressed inquiry on this subject.

My letters to you of 25th and 30th September, with that of 2d instant, have been read to many of my friends. Nothing is done by me which may not be witnessed by the whole world, and for which, at all times, I shall be happy to answer.—I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

ROB. GOURLAY.

Sir George Murray.

No. 13.

Sir George Murray presents his compliments to Mr. Gourlay, and begs to acknowledge the receipt of his letters of the 30th September, 2d and 10th of October.

Sir George returns the inclosure from Dr. Chalmers, which Mr. Gourlay may probably wish to preserve.

Downing Street, 15th October 1829.

No. 14.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 5th May 1830.

MY DEAR SIR—I heard only eight days ago, that you were called to London to say whether or not poor-laws should be introduced into Ireland, immediately resolved to publish letters which had been lying for some time with a printer in Edinburgh, to dedicate the same to you, and the more to arrest attention, copied out a correspondence with yourself to precede these; having first submitted to your brother, in your absence from town, whether there was any impropriety in my doing this. I hoped all would be printed and ready for you in Edinburgh, but the printer delayed, and you were off before I could see you. Annexed is the title and backing of the pamphlet, and my wish is, that you would endeavour to procure me a hearing before the same committee which is to examine you. You may hand this to the Chairman, and say, from personal knowledge, if you think it likely that I may be able to give useful information on the subject.—This would oblige yours very truly,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

The Reverend Thomas Chalmers, D.D.

No. 15.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, 5th May 1830.

SIR—Twenty-four years ago I voted at a county meeting in favour of Catholic Emancipation, in opposition to my father. You will readily believe, therefore, that I feel indebted to you who won the cause. But more must be done; and your organization in Ireland is at an end. Will you listen to me? Will you present to the House of Commons the enclosed petition, get it printed, and bring me before the Committee now considering whether or not poor-laws should be introduced into Ireland.

Dr. Chalmers has been sent for to give evidence before that Com-

mittee, and I have printed a series of letters to induce him, one of my oldest friends, to get me a hearing before the same Committee; but this he may not be able to effect. A similar petition to what is enclosed was presented by Mr. Hume, February 1828, but he would neither move for printing, nor say why he would not. Thus situated you may the more oblige me.

Favour me with a few lines after perusing the petition, and say, 1st, If you will present it? 2d, If you will get it printed? 3d, If you will bring me before the Committee?—Yours faithfully.

ROBT. GOURLAY.

Daniel O'Connell, Esq. M.P.

No. 16.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The PETITION of ROBERT GOURLAY,

Humbly Sheweth—That your petitioner has, for twenty-nine years, devoted attention to the correction of the poor-law system, and for the last twelve to Emigration in connexion therewith.

That, having for many years petitioned your Honourable House for a hearing on these subjects without avail, he had resolved never again to offer services in the same way; but since session 1827, having perused parliamentary reports on emigration, and discovered that while there seemed to be liberal dispositions on the part of Government towards the poor, and earnest desire for their comfortable settlement abroad, there existed profound ignorance as to means and modes of proceeding, he is induced now again to come forward.

Your petitioner asserts, without desire to be censorious, that not a single individual examined by the select committee on emigration, has offered even a hint as to right principles of settlement in colonies, or for the effectual relief at home of the labouring poor. He has in an address to his Majesty, dated August 10, 1827, declared, that “without altering a single statute, changing a single institution, or “interfering with property, the whole system of the poor laws and “rates may be dispensed with in twenty years, while the national “debt may be paid off within fifty years, from sales of colonial “lands.” He has offered, in a letter to the colonial secretary, dated November 19, 1827, to submit “a plan by which two hundred thousand persons may be removed from the United Kingdom next spring, “and comfortably settled in British America, without a farthing’s cost “to Government, beyond publishing two proclamations.” He now is willing to explain to your Honourable House, how the whole of this may be effected; and most earnestly entreats that he may be examined on the subject; also that this petition may be printed.—And he will ever pray,

ROBT. GOURLAY.

2, Bridge Street, Leeds, May 5, 1836.

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MAN is a recording animal; and this indeed is the best definition of him. Inferior animals communicate by voice and by signal over space; but through time have no medium of intelligence, and from generation to generation remain the same. They are indeed the beasts that perish; but man is the aspirant to excellence, and the candidate for immortality. His spirit, though cradled in weakness, and surrounded with difficulty, is destined to gain the ascendant, and to triumph over every ill—to enjoy a rational millenium on earth, and at last to hold converse with Heaven.

Such has been my fate during the last twenty-one years, that I should not even know myself but for records;—should not distinctly remember where I have been, how employed, who with, and of what thinking: should never be able to maintain my rights, and manage my affairs: should never be able to correct my errors, or accomplish my undertakings. Persuaded of this, I began, many years ago, to preserve my papers; and, in 1826, to print them, regularly classed, lettered, and numbered for after reference. What is contained within this cover is a continuation: and should I live to have peace and freedom, these documents, however worthless by themselves, and disjointed as at present, may enable me to mature projects of mightiest moment to humanity.

Even at present, my records are consolatory. They are the clue to reflection on past life, and this reflection gives assurance that the chain of causes and effects proceeds from Almighty Power;—gives assurance that there is a Providence—a Disposer of Events—a Superior Intelligence, whose ways are not as our ways;—who can guide us through darkness into light, and over rugged paths to tranquillity.

It is nearly twenty-nine years since I engaged in the service of labourers. For this I was maltreated at home: for this I went to England, and was persecuted there: this kindled my zeal in Canada; and for this I was banished: in the gloomiest stage of existence, this was ever in view; and this made years of imprisonment pass swiftly away: this has deprived me of all property, separated me from my children, and left me alone in the world:—But my records give assurance that every misfortune has been only a step towards good; and that up to the present moment, all is for the best. I believe, indeed, that no other train of events could have prepared me to assert with growing confidence, what no other man has thought of, or dared to do, that *without altering a single statute, changing a single institution, or interfering with property, the whole system of the Poor Laws and Rates may be dispensed with in 20 years, while the National Debt may be paid off within 50 years, from sales of Colonial Lands.*

ROB. GOURLAY.

2, Bridge Street, Leith, June 1830.

